291 184 a typical outfit with special characteristics. For instance, the men of Tenejapa wear a hat of broad brim and pointed round crown, trimmed with thin ribbons of different colors. They also wear a dark chamarra or poncho with thin white stripes. The characteristic clothes of Cancuc are short, tight pants and a long shirt trimmed with red wool yarn. In Tierra Caliente the wool chamarra is not used nor is the variation in outfit so well defined.

Transportation

482 [484] [487] [492] 482 147 Men and pack animals are the principal carriers in the Tzeltal region, which is crossed in all directions by narrow trails. Men carrying loads of 40–50 kg. usually walk, in one day, as far as 8 leguas (leagues). According to Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:386), the Tzeltal of the highlands are so strong "que ponen en vergüenza a una mula." In 1944 I observed Indians [565] passing by my Yochib camp, carrying chairs on their shoulders, in which a lady or a child of upper-class Ladinos from Ocosingo 492 and Yajalon would be sitting. Pack animals are now becoming common among the Tzeltal, some of whom also have saddle horses.

491 Part of the Tzeltal-Tzotzil region is crossed by the Pan-American Highway joining Guatemala and Mexico City. In recent years, roads called "brechas de penetración" for motor vehicles are being constructed. 474 The natives of some communities (Oxchuc 493 and Chanal) have organized cooperatives and purchased their own trucks.

804 *Units of Measure*

The system of measures still retains aboriginal characteristics. The main units are:

Nab: Distance between the end of the thumb and the middle finger extended.

Chutub: Distance between the end of the thumb and the index finger extended. It is equivalent to the jeme. The Indians do not use the cuarta (distance between the thumb and little finger extended).

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000 town. However, other cooperatives have been successfully organized to
474 finance small-scale oeprations. Five record players with loudspeakers have
275 been installed in the houses of members who sell liquor. Once the initial
216 investment is made, the operating costs are low: 27 pesos for electricity, 25
454 pesos for a liquor license, 30 pesos for *hacienda* or state tax, and 10 pesos
434 for the township tax. Liquor bought at 60 pesos for an 18-liter jug is resold at 72 pesos. The total monthly cost of 92 pesos yields a net profit of about 300 pesos. The cost of the installation, 5,000 pesos, was low enough for some of the richer members of the community to finance individually, but as one of the operators told me, it was too risky—that is, too profitable.
474 The envy the neighbors would feel on seeing the profits made would
434 never result in witchcraft against all of the members, whereas an individ-
626 ual owner could expect that he himself or a member of his household
754 would become ill or die as the victim of witchcraft. These early entrepreneurs recognize the value of the cooperative in overcoming the force of envy which has effectively inhibited acquisition or display in these corporate Indian communities. Instead of socializing losses, one of its functions [182] in modern capital organizations, the cooperative in Tzo?ontahal serves to socialize gains.

474 The most enterprising action of the new cooperatives has been the pur-
493 chase of a truck, initiated by the entrepreneur, Santos. The purchase of the
452 truck was inspired by the example of the Ladino secretary, who with his wife and son had a monopoly on the transportation of pottery, people, and wheat out of the village. Furthermore, in the neighboring town of Zinacantan the Indians were successfully operating two trucks. Santos went with his brother to the director of the I.N.I. in Las Casas to ask for a cosigner on the installment purchase of a Chevrolet truck, since without a Ladino sponsor Indians could not get credit with the company. According to one informant, I.N.I. officials advised them that they would not be able to profit from this venture and that they should buy a tractor with their money. The brothers persisted and went to the Dodge company in the state capital. The company agreed to sell to the Indians without Ladino co-signers on the basis of a down payment of 10,000 pesos. The initial payment was raised with thirty Indians putting up the money. Some gave no more than 150 pesos, but as the instigators of the purchase remarked, "The more members we have, the more power it gives us."

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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

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474 The strategies the cooperative members have developed in their frequent
648 tangles with state police illustrate the combination of custom and innova-
661 tion. When caught red-handed, they may respond by playing the stereotype Indian role. "We don't know anything. We are just poor Indians. How do you expect us to do what the law says?" This is hard for the Ladino authorities to resist, since it feeds their own sense of superiority. But it does not always work, and so the Indians have devised secondary resources. They put the departmental police at each terminal of their usual route between Las Casas and Comitán on a regular monthly mordida pay-
[693] roll of 50 pesos each. When trying to extend their operations, they hire a lawyer. A recent coup has been the acquisition of a permit to truck corn from Villa las Rosas and other ejido settlements that have been recently colonized. The appeal was made on the basis that they are a nonprofit cooperative of ejidatarios. With the permit, they now undercut the price of their own competitors in the town as well as of the large companies. Law-
474 yers are beginning to advertise themselves in newspapers as "Friends of
693 the Indians" and are in some cases specializing in this new patronage, which they receive from other communities as well as Tzo'ontahal. The professional relationship bypasses personal ties which formerly limited the development of Indian leadership.

177 The self-development occurring in Tzo'ontahal may appear paradoxical
178 if we do not understand the internal dynamics by which change is con-
474 tained within an existing equilibrium. The cooperative association has
621 been adopted as a technique for socializing the risk of making a profit.
648 The truck, although currently used in an uneconomic operation, is a sym-
[493] bol of power in the struggle for a position in the regional markets and in the intracommunity factional strifes. The usual patron-client system is being reversed as the Indian puts the Ladino on his payroll to secure evasion from the law. In the changes which are occuring, the defensive structure of the corporate community is a means by which the Indians are entering into national life not on the lowest rung of the social ladder, but on terms they are setting for themselves. In the new enterprises, the Indians combine old ploys with new strategies. Confronted with legal threats from the outside world, they play the colonial game of defensive ignorance.

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port. At his death, he had no successor, and "the town remained in peace."

In this first political contest, the conflict was interpreted as opposition between the dual divisions. Factional disputes and the sense of political responsibility and control were contained within these parameters, and any conflict was conceived of as a threat to territorial balancing mechanisms.

The new factions that have developed since 1963 are tied to economic rather than territorial competition. In 1960 the first truck-owning cooperative was organized under the leadership of the former Ladino secretary. The twenty shareholders of the town had only a small amount of capital in the truck, and the controlling interest was in the hands of the secretary's wife. The cooperative was merely a device to gain business in carrying pottery and wheat from the town to the market centers. In 1963 a new truck-owning cooperative was organized by local Indians. The two brothers, Santiago and José, secured capital to buy the truck from thirty residents of the town without any assistance from outside. The shareholders of the new cooperative came from both sides of the dual division, and from the outlying barrios.

When the leaders of the new cooperative tried to get permits and certificates to license the car and the operator, they were refused by the town president who was a shareholder of the first cooperative. The Indians then hired a Ladino truck driver from the neighboring town, and the son of one of the shareholders served as assistant. They realized that it was necessary to get control of the local political positions in order to extend their operations. With the help of the schoolteacher, they got eighty-one signatures on the petition for the PRI candicacy of one of the brothers, José, in the presidential nomination of 1964. He was opposed by a ladinoized Indian living in one of the barrios who was backed by the Ladino secretary who was leader of the competing trucking cooperative. The opponent did not have a chance of winning, as the leaders of the new cooperative pointed out, because of two strikes against him: he was not a resident of the center and he had only PAN backing. The Indians are aware that nothing can be gained politically by a PAN-backed president since PRI is now the party in control of regional and national offices.

After José's election, the Indian truck driver was able to get a driving license. With the help of the schoolmaster, the cooperative was able to get

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permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzo'ontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

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mother to her daughter. Informants are able to recount the succession of learning of the tasks, the relative difficulty of each task, and the mistakes they made and how their mother corrected them. Being a potter in Tzo?ontahal is as much a part of being a woman as the role of agriculturalist is of being a man.

Special tasks become crystallized as roles only when few people perform them. Jobs such as caponizing, butchering, net and rope weaving, and wood cutting which are done by almost every man do not have role terms. Bonesetting and curing of certain "good" illnesses, such as swelling caused by embarrassment, are semispecialized activities performed by a few women who have "cold" hands. Midwifery is a fully specialized role performed by two women who are referred to as "the grandmothers of the newborn child."

A new occupational role has been created with the purchase of a truck by Indians of the community. There are now two Indian truck drivers. Recruitment of these particular young men was a result of their fathers' importance in the truck-owning cooperatives, and their skill was acquired in apprenticeship with a Ladino truck driver hired when the truck was first in operation. Both of them are acculturated in clothing and speech. Since they have acquired skills in dealing with the Ladino world, they often act as intermediaries for Indians of the town in their negotiations in the market or the courts of the departmental capital.

The continuity in occupational adjustment from early childhood to adulthood contrasts with the discontinuities in assuming roles in the life cycle. Girls are not advised about menstruation until they see the first signs of it; they describe their reaction to it as one of fear and surprise. Often they have been pregnant several months before they are aware of the condition or its cause, and they have no preparation for the experience of childbirth before it is upon them. Boys are not considered men until they are married, but in order to arrive at this status, they must enter into the "fight to get a wife," as the betrothal is often called.

Since recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on qualities of the person rather than acquired skills, failure to recognize the prerequisite conditions of age and experience undermines the validity of